1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

642 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathīri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 48 L36 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

178 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen.

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread.

The surprising modern developments in the Kathīri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increasingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good-will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut appears to be changing almost despite itself.

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathīri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of Qu'aiti and Kathīri rule in their respective countries. I could not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Historical South Arabia ML2

in the civilized world. The ancients could not do without it, for they required it in the performance of their religion, and when the Egyptians took to embalming their dead the demand increased. Pliny speaks with disapproval of the vast quantities used for secular purposes, and believed that the incense country of Arabia did not produce in a whole year so large a quantity of perfume as was burnt by Nero at the funeral of Poppaea.

We gather also from Pliny and other writers that the organization of the country in ancient times was much as it is to-day. When the trade of Europe and the East began to go by sea, the succession of old South Arabian kingdoms came to an end. Nature stepping in put an end to the incense trade by a process of desiccation, and nowadays incense-bearing trees are rare objects in the Hadhramaut proper.

Before I record the scant references to Hadhramaut history to be gleaned from the inscriptions, it will be well to bear in mind the names and approximate locations of the tribes of South Arabia. Eratosthenes says that proceeding in order down the Red Sea coast of Arabia were the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and Katabanaeans. To the east was Chatramotitae. Schoff gives the order on the South Arabian coast from west to east as Himyarites, Sabaeans, Qataban, Hadhramaut, and Habashat. Pliny remarks that the Minaeans were neighbours of Hadhramaut in the interior. Not later than the seventh century B.C. the state of Ausan was paramount in South Arabia. After Ausan fell, the principal power devolved on first Qataban, then Saba, and lastly Himyar.

In point of time the first reference to Hadhramaut is that which occurs in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, but to pursue the passage beyond the mere name would soon involve us in legend. There were kings of Hadhramaut contemporary with those of Saba, and Saba may have risen to power about 800 B.C. There were fifteen rulers of Saba called *mukarib* (priest) who were followed by seventeen kings of Saba, and then by twenty-six kings of Saba and possessors of Reidan (Zafar near Yerim). Some of the later inscriptions are dated according to a Sabaean era which is presumed to have started about 115 or 114 B.C., from which time begin the kings of Saba and Reidan. How the change took place is not entirely clear, but an inscription which reads "Ilsharh Yahdib and his brother Ya'zil Bayyin the two kings of Saba and Reidan sons of Fara' king of Saba" suggests that the change of title was a peaceful affair perhaps due to the need of being by the sea.

There appear to have been close relations between Hadhramaut and the Minaeans, as a son of the Minaean king was king of Hadhramaut. There is an inscription in Ma'in recording the building of some towers dedicated to 'Athtar Dhu Qabd by the king of the Hadhramaut, in which he refers to the son of his brother, the king of Ma'in, which also indicates a close connection between the two people.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

[Straits Settlements] [Kenya]

Malaya AN1
Kenya FL1

close relations with the Hadhramaut. One Hadhramaut-born Arab, Sheikh Salim bin Muhammad Bin Talib al Kathīri, is a Justice of the Peace.

The younger generation of Singapore-born Hadhramis are said to take more interest in local social life than in business. They are more interested in merry making than in money making and do not possess much character nor love for their country of origin. Like the young Arabs in other countries they appear to have fallen victims to the easier side of modern influence, and have become Malayanised and not of much use either to the country of their origin or to that of their adoption. Amongst them of course are members of an older, pre-War generation, born in Singapore and like the old Hadhrami-born Arabs maintaining a proper loyalty to both countries. Two of these are Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Sheikh al Kaf and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Juneid al Juneid, both of whom are Justices of the Peace.

CHAPTER XXV.

HADHRAMIS IN EAST AFRICA.

Kenya Colony and Protectorate.—The Kenya Non-Native Census Report for 1921 stated that Arab settlement in the country had gone on for centuries and that there was still a steady influx of Hadhramaut Arabs which was to be encouraged. "They are", says the report, "a virile, industrious, and thrifty race, and some authorities maintain that the regeneration of the coast is dependent on their efforts." Nine hundred and twenty Arabs, or 8·7 per cent. of the Arab population of Kenya, of whom 688 were males and 232 females, returned themselves as Hadhramis, but 1,347 other gave Arabia as birthplace. It was considered safe to assume that practically all of them were from the Hadhramaut or born in Kenya. As regards their occupation the Arabs showed themselves the most independent of any non-European race, for 67 per cent. of them were working on their own account. More than half the Arab males were traders and such women as were employed were classified Industrial. Many Hadhramis were employed on *hamali* transport and as water sellers. Commenting on this the report says the two trades beloved of the Shihiri Arabs still survive in spite of the competition of the motor lorry in the former case, and in the latter of the installation of a water supply.

The District Commissioner of Mombasa states that there are today approximately 5,000 natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr in this district. There has been no change in their numbers during the past five or six years. Their principal occupations are water-carrying, coolie work, and petty trading. There is practically no trade with Hadhramaut. A number of them intermarry with other communities, and some families are permanently settled in the country. There was a time when they monopolised coolie work, but in very many cases they have been replaced by Africans.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

731 getting food from abroad in war-time, the loss of money from the Far East, and the drought, famine ensued. I am thankful to say that owing to the generous help of His Majesty's Government and to the breaking of the drought, conditions are now much better, but from the point of view of this survey the thing to be remembered is that in all probability the produce of the country cannot sustain much more than a quarter of the population and that it is very largely dependent on money from abroad. Of old, the ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade, so that the Mediterranean countries provided the cash. When the incense went by sea the Hadhramis learnt to emigrate, and the present Hadhramaut has drawn its cash from the Far East, East Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia [67] —the countries to which the people migrate. One out of every three or four Hadhramis lives and works abroad. Emigration or means to earn money abroad is an absolute essential to the Hadhramaut, and there are grounds for fearing it is not going to be so easy in the future as it has been in the past.

So much for the gloomier side of the picture. In 1938 I described to the Royal Central Asian Society how a three-year peace embracing the whole of the Hadhramaut had been made and how the organization of government had started. To my mind the brightest thing about the Hadhramaut is the way the Government of the Qu'aiti State has advanced and developed social services, and, serious as the famine was, principally in part of the Inner Hadhramaut, out of it has grown a number of educational and medical developments which would probably not have matured if there had been no famine. The State Government had so far advanced by the time it came, that it was able to cope with difficulties and there developed a real spirit of service. It could not have managed on its own resources if His Majesty's Government had not helped so generously, but what the state could do in a financial way it did and the service its officials gave could not have been provided without it.

652 At the time when reorganization of the Government[1] started about
178 seven years ago the revenue was about Rs. 6,30,000, of which Rs. 3,10,000 were spent on Government services; Rs. 2,25,000 of that went to irregular soldiers and to slaves. This year the revenue is estimated at just under Rs. 15,00,000. On April 1, 1939, there was a general deficit of Rs. 40,000, because the late Sultan used to take all the cash he could to India. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit balance of Rs. 14,00,000. In this year the Government is preparing to spend Rs. 16,00,000, of which Rs. 4,00,000 goes to the maintenance of security forces. There are forts, with soldiers or gendarmerie, and garrison towns all round the country, so that security is very greatly improved. The Budget also includes, under various heads, about Rs. 300,000 for relief work direct and indirect. The amount paid on education has risen from Rs. 6,000 in 1934 to Rs. 154,000 in 1944. Only Rs. 5,550 was spent on medical work in 1934; in 1944 the sum was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary services.

641 It seems to me that these figures indicate, more clearly than anything
178 else can, progress and the will to progress. I cannot give many details of new developments, but I will mention some of them quite briefly. One of the most striking things is the growth of reciprocal confidence between

[1] [of the Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government, and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government[1] and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced.

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness.

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved.

Of old, Government[1] was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments.

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized.

1 [Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

178, 65 The Wahidi Sultanate of Balhaf asked for advisory arrangements in 1939 and that of Bir 'Ali in 1943. The former was making very reasonable progress on its modest means till the war upset its Customs receipts, and security forces and schools were established. Bir 'Ali has only just started, but the town has been cleaned up, the Customs organized, and a school and dispensary provided for.

491 178 Much extension of motorable tracks has been made, and all places of importance in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory can now be reached by car. Bir 'Ali and Balhaf soon will be, as a motor road towards Aden had passed its most difficult stretch and was getting on towards the agricultural region of Meifa in June, 1944.

178 565 So that on the whole, despite the famine, the picture is one of progress rather more than one would at first sight expect of a rather unpromising country. For beyond the handicaps of nature have been the handicaps the inhabitants have made for themselves: the chronic insecurity, the everlasting divisions, and the unsound social system of the Inner Hadhramaut, with a number of classes so acutely separated as more to resemble the castes of India than social grades in the brotherhood of Islam. And there was, on the whole, so much desire for independence on the part of all—though almost all classes interpreted it differently—that it was difficult to see how a few foreigners could get over the suspicion and help the 000 people to achieve something. But I think that now the Qu'aiti State, at least, could stand to some extent on its own legs and would be unlikely to collapse entirely if it was left to itself, for its stability does not entirely depend on its ruler alone, although he has been such a tower of strength in promoting progress. I think the thing that would be mostly lacking 648 if it were left to itself would be initiative. The best thing that could happen to the Hadhramaut now would be a federation of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States and the Wahidi Sultanates. I think this could be achieved, but it is not very easy. On the Qu'aiti side the objection is to spending money in Kathiri territory, although the old hatred between the two has died out, and in Kathiri territory the difficulty is the disunion between the various sections of the Wadi Hadhramaut. It is, however, fair that the Qu'aiti State should help in Kathiri territory, as much of its Customs revenue comes from goods imported by the Kathiri State, which has no ports. Between the Wahidi Sultanates there is still intense hatred, which was fanned up a couple of years ago by the murder of the Balhaf Regent in a plot hatched by the Bir 'Ali Sultans. But as the Bir 'Ali Sultans have now turned respectable and accepted advisory arrangements, some federation could probably be brought about. Bir 'Ali, having the better harbour, will have better revenue than Balhaf, which has a larger population to provide for. One would hope for a federation which left autonomy in local matters to the constituent parts of the country, but shared the cost of social services, communications, and so on. If the Hadhramis can emigrate and if they can govern themselves with a sound federal Government, they will have something to thank us for of lasting worth, and no doubt those abroad will give a good report of the British connection.

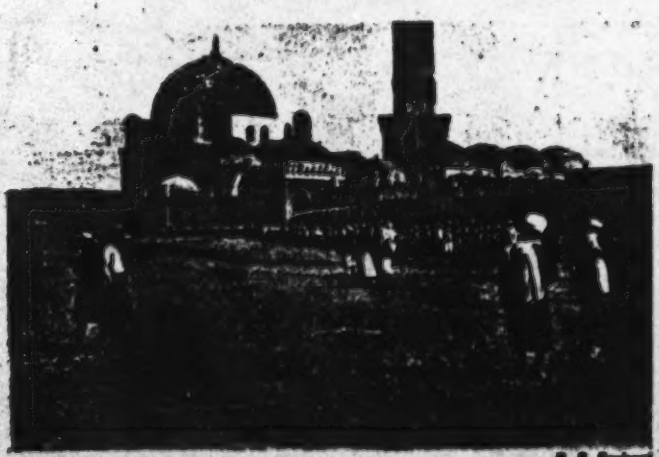
000 Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country.

4:Sarjeant-Q-Q20-dase)1948 MLJ Yemen MLS

there are still slaves in the Hadramaut but
sweeper class, they are not untouchables. unlike the
The Arabian attitude toward the slave is not unkind: the slave has certain customary rights, and is better fed and clothed than many who are free.

These mountaineers hardly resemble the Arab of popular imagination, nor do they wear headbands and flowing robes. The Yemenite Arabs are usually of slight stature, dark-skinned and beardless, though there are so many types that it is impossible to generalise. They are a charming people, and civilised. Their condition would be much improved had they lasting peace and good government, though the complete opening-up of the country to outside influence and commerce would spell disaster for an economic system which has worked with success for two or three thousand years. To an ever-increasing degree the Protectorate and South Yemen have become economically dependent on the port of Aden. Labour is drawn from the up-country villages. The villager will go to Aden and earn £1 : 10 : 6 a month at coolie work, live on 7s. 6d. out of that sum, and save the rest to return to his village. There he will remain until necessity drives him to earn more. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Aden must be composed of these floating elements of population.

Internally the motor-lorry has made communications between the towns much easier; the aeroplane, too, has made a difference to the Protectorate and is a familiar sight in some places. It is now possible to control areas with a handful of planes where formerly thousands of ground troops were necessary to penetrate.



The Turkish mosque in San'a, capital of the Yemen

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protectorate. Any development of education initiated by Government had therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

HEALTH

Western Aden Protectorate

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very edge of " the empty quarter " of Arabia. A number of those who otherwise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden, 150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's recommendation.

HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole. It may be said, in brief, that the districts of the Hadhramaut are singularly fertile and self-sufficing, and so situated geographically as to hang closely together and to be isolated socially, as a whole, from the rest of Arabia; while, at the same time, they lie within reach of ports which are in constant communication with mid-eastern Africa and India. To the north stretches unbroken the most terrible waste of sand-dunes in the peninsula; to the east the district is practically isolated from the Oman provinces by the almost waterless desert of Mahrah; while to the west it is difficult of access from the Yemen and its outlying provinces on account of a mountainous and sterile desert-steppe which, up to the present, remains almost entirely unexplored.

Possessing more frequent and easy communication with Moslem communities outside Arabia than within it, the population of the Hadhramaut has had ample opportunity to develop particularism in its social organization as well as in its religious spirit. The fertility of its lands makes its farmers self-sufficient and jealous with the jealousy of men who have much to lose; and, while their relations with Africa have given them unusual wealth of slaves, their relations with India and other parts of the East, greatly enhancing their material civilization, have at the same time made them fully aware of the nature of European rule and the danger of giving free entrance to members of a race which condemns slavery. For long they succeeded in barring the way to the encroachments of all foreigners, and it is only within comparatively recent times that travellers, few in number, have succeeded in acquiring information, and that only to a very limited extent, about the social organization, customs, and manners of this interesting and highly exclusive people.

The population may be divided into four more or less distinct classes:

1. The Seyyids.
2. The Tribesmen.
3. The Townsmen.
4. The Servile classes, or slaves.

The *Seyyids*, descendants of Husein, grandson of Mohammed, form a numerous and highly respected aristocracy. They are divided into families, the heads of which are known as 'Munsibs', who are looked upon as the religious leaders of the people and are in some cases venerated as saints. They do not bear arms, nor occupy themselves in trade or manual labour, or even agriculture;